

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 PRETORIA 4913

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SF, WA, PDEV

SUBJECT: AHTISAARI, STEYN INTERVIEWED BY SABC

1. FOLLOWING ARE SLIGHTLY EDITED SEPARATE TEN-MINUTE TELEVISION INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED BY CLIFF SAUNDERS OF SABC WITH UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AHTISAARI AND AG JUSTICE STEYN ON AUGUST 20. WHERE SAUNDERS' QUESTIONS ARE NOW SHOWN, THE SUBSTANCE OF EACH QUESTION PRECEDES THE ANSWER BY AHTISAARI OR STEYN.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF AHTISAARI INTERVIEW:

Q: ON AHTISAARI-STEYN SPIRIT OF COOPERATION:

AHTISAARI: ALL THE DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN VERY OPEN, VERY MATTER-OF-FACT, VERY BUSINESS-LIKE AND TO THE POINT, AND SO ONE CAN REALLY SAY UNCLASSIFIED

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THAT THEY HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT IN A FRIENDLY AND OPEN ATMOSPHERE. AND THE SAME I CAN SAY ALSO ON BEHALF OF MY COLLEAGUES WHO ARE ADVISING ME, BECAUSE WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN ASKING FOR INFORMATION THEY HAVE BEEN RECEIVING IT. SO FROM THAT POINT OF VIEW I THINK THE SITUATION HAS BEEN VERY SATISFACTORY.

Q: YOU HAVE NO COMPLAINTS WHATSOEVER ABOUT INFORMATION BEING WITHHELD.

A: NOT AT THE MOMENT... THERE ARE STILL BITS AND PIECES THAT WE HAVE TO COLLECT AND I'M HOPING WE'LL BE GETTING THEM.

Q: WHO IS IN CHARGE OF THE ELECTION AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS?

A: I THINK IT IS VERY CLEARLY STIPULATED IN THE PROPOSAL THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL WILL ORGANIZE THE ELECTIONS AND THE REGISTRATION. THE UNITED NATIONS IS SUPPOSED TO SUPERVISE THE WHOLE EXERCISE. AND THE IMPORTANT THING REALLY WHICH I HAVE EMPHASIZED ALSO EARLIER IS THE FACT THAT BEFORE ANY STEPS ARE TAKEN, WE WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO LOOK AT THE PROPOSALS AND PLANS AND GIVE OUR OPINION ON THOSE. AND IF WE HAVE ANY PROPOSALS TO MAKE, I'D HOPE THAT THEY WILL BE INCORPORATED IN THE PROPOSALS BEFORE ANY IMPLEMENTATION STARTS.

Q: IN TERMS OF THE PROPOSALS, IT IS YOU AND NOT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WHO MUST DECIDE ON FAIRNESS AND THE APPROPRIATENESS OF THE ELECTORAL PROCEDURES. IS THAT CORRECT?

A: NO, I THINK AS HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, I HAVE TO ADVISE HIM WHAT MY OPINION ABOUT THE WHOLE PROCESS IS GOING TO BE, AND KEEP HIM INFORMED ABOUT THE DIFFERENT DEVELOPMENTS SO THAT IT WILL BE POSS-

IBLE FOR HIM, IN THE END, TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AGAIN AND OF COURSE HE HAS TO KEEP THE S.C. CONSTANTLY INFORMED THROUGH REPORT. SO I ASSUME THAT BASICALLY IT IS MY RESPONSIBILITY AND THAT OF MY COLLEAGUES WHILE WE ARE ON THE SPOT TO MAKE UP OUR MINDS THAT THE PROCESS HAS BEEN FAIR.

Q: NOW COULD YOU GIVE US ANY INDICATION IF YOU HAVE FOUND ANY PROBLEM AREAS, OR IF YOU HAVE ANY SERIOUS RESERVATIONS AT THIS STAGE.
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A: NOT REALLY. I COULD PERHAPS SAY THAT THERE ARE SOME AREAS WHERE I THINK WE HAVE TO DRAW OUR ATTENTION MORE CLOSELY AND ONE THAT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED EARLIER IS THE WHOLE FIELD OF INFORMATION ACTIVITIES, BECAUSE UNDERSTANDABLY WE HAVE NOT YET RRACHED THE STAGE WHERE I THINK THERE HAS TO BE A MORE BALANCED FLOW OF INFORMATION, POSSIBILITY FOR ALL POLITICAL PARTIES TO MAKE THEIR VIEWS

KNOWN...BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE MAINTAIN THIS IMPARTIALITY ON BOTH SIDES.

Q: ON THE REGISTRATION ISSUE:

A: OBVIOUSLY WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING INTO WHAT HAS BEEN GOING ON BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN SOME COMPLAINTS RAISED BY SOME POLITICAL PARTIES, AND WE ARE STILL WORKING ON THAT. BUT WE ARE NOT GOING TO PASS OUR JUDGMENT ON THAT ISSUE BEFORE WE COME BACK.

Q: THE REGISTRATION OFFICIALS, THEY SAY THAT THEY HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED ANY PROOF OF IRREGULARITIES. HAVE YOU YET BEEN GIVEN SUCH PROOF?

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A: I'M NOT SURE WHAT MATERIAL MY COLLEAGUES WHO ARE DEALING WITH THAT PARTICULAR ISSUE HAVE AT THE MOMENT. THERE HAVE BEEN GENERAL COMPLAINTS AND IN EVERY CASE WHAT WE HAVE DONE IS, WE HAVE ASKED THE PEOPLE TO SUBSTANTIATE THEIR CLAIMS. SO I'M NOT QUITE SURE WHERE WE STAND AT THE MOMENT, BUT OBVIOUSLY IF THESE ARE SUBSTANTIATED CLAIMS, THEN WE WILL PASS THOSE OVER TO THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL.

Q. IN OTHER WORDS, YOU WILL REQUIRE AND/OR ARE IN THE PROCESS OF ACQUIRING FIRM PROOF THAT THERE ARE IRREGULARITIES.

A: NOT EXACTLY, THAT'S NOT THE MAJOR AIM OF THE EXERCISE. THE MAJOR AIM IS TO SEE WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES FOR US TO GO AHEAD FROM HERE. IF I WOULD SIMPLY BE STRICTLY LOOKING AT THE PROPOSALS AND
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BEING EXTREMELY LEGALISTIC, THERE MIGHT BE A POSSIBILITY THAT I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT THE WHOLE EXERCISE WOULD BE CARRIED OVER AGAIN. BUT WE ALSO HAVE TO BE REALISTIC AND SEE HOW MANY PEOPLE ACTUALLY HAVE REGISTERED SO FAR, AND IF THERE ARE ANY MISGIVINGS ON THE WAY,

HOW THOSE CAN BE RECTIFIED. AND WHEN WE KNOW THIS PICTURE, WE CAN THEN MAKE OUR OWN RECOMMENDATIONS, WHAT SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT BE DONE.

Q: ON THURSDAY WHEN YOU RETURNED FROM YOUR TOUR OF THE NORTH YOU TOLD ME AT THE AIRPORT THAT YOU BELIEVED THAT WE HAVE A LONG TIME TO GO

YET BEFORE THE ATMOSPHERE CAN BE CREATED FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. NOW, SOUTH AFRICA HAS SAID THAT THEY WANT ELECTIONS BEFORE THE RAINY SEASON AND THIS IS IN OCTOBER, WHICH IS NOT A LONG WAY OFF.

A: I HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S OPINION WHICH IS WELL KNOWN. I MEAN THEY HAVE MADE A POLITICAL COMMITMENT EARLIER AND THAT HAS BEEN REPEATED IN OUR DISCUSSIONS. WITHOUT ACTUALLY GOING MORE INTO DETAILS WHEN I SAID A LONG TIME, I ACTUALLY SAID SOMETIME IS REQUIRED BEFORE.....

Q: NO, IT WAS A LONG TIME.

A: WAS IT? I SEE. EVEN THAT DOES NOT SPECIFY HOW LONG IT SHOULD BE. BUT THE BASIC POINT REALLY IS THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE NECESSARY STEPS THAT ARE ANTICIPATED IN THE PROPOSAL ARE TAKEN BECAUSE OTHERWISE WE CAN'T REALLY CREATE THE TYPE OF CLIMATE THAT IS FORESEEN IN THE PROPOSALS.

Q: THE PEOPLE ARE GENERALLY SPECULATING THAT THIS WAS THE STRONGEST HINT THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN YET THAT YOU WILL RECOMMEND THAT THE ELECTIONS BE HELD NEXT YEAR, NOT THIS YEAR.

A: I THINK IF YOU WOULD CAREFULLY LOOK AT MY STATEMENTS THROUGHOUT UNCLASSIFIED

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OUR STAY HERE, I THINK YOU WOULD SEE THAT I HAVE BEEN EMPHASIZING THE SAME FACT, THE CREATION OF THE NEW CLIMATE WHICH I FIND EXTREMELY IMPORTANT IN THIS EXERCISE. BECAUSE IF WE ARE RUSHING THINGS IN A QUICKER SPEED THAN THE PROPOSALS WOULD ANTICIPATE, IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO TALK ABOUT FAIR PROCESS. BUT WE HAVE TO SEE ALSO THAT THE PROPOSALS CLEARLY SEE A CERTAIN TIME RESERVED FOR THE RETURN AND REPATRIATION OF THOSE NAMIBIANS WHEREVER THEY ARE ABROAD, BECAUSE ALL OF THEM SHOULD BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO RETURN PEACEFULLY IF THEY SO WISH.

Q: MR. AHTISAARI, IF WE CAN TURN NOW TO THE CEASEFIRE ISSUE, MANY PEOPLE APPEAR CONFUSED ABOUT THIS. THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL HAS CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. DO YOU FEEL THAT AN APPEAL OF THIS NATURE IS JUSTIFIED AT THIS STAGE?

A: I UNDERSTAND THE REASONS WHY THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL HAS MADE THIS APPEAL, BUT I'M AFRAID THAT BEFORE WE HAVE THE SECOND SECURITY COUNCIL DECISION THERE IS VERY LITTLE THAT CAN BE DONE

TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION AND AGAIN, I THINK, THEREFORE, IT IS
IMPORTANT THAT WE STICK TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE PROPOSALS AND
START CREATING A CLIMATE WHERE THIS SORT OF ISSUE CAN ALSO BE HANDLED
WHETHER IT IS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE S.C. OR WHETHER IT WILL REQUIRE
A FEW WEEKS THEREAFTER, I DON'T KNOW AT THE MOMENT.

Q: FINALLY MR. AHTISAARI, YOU HAVE BEEN PRAISED A GREAT DEAL WHILE
HERE FOR YOUR IMPARTIALITY AND ALSO FOR THE PROFESSIONAL NATURE
OF YOUR DIPLOMACY. ON THE OTHER HAND SOME PEOPLE HAVE SAID THAT YOU
HAVE A PROSWAPO RECORD AND ALSO THAT MANY MEMBERS OF THE U.N. FAVOR
SWAPO. NOW THE QUESTION IS, DESPITE ALL THIS, CAN A SQUARE DEAL
BE EXPECTED?

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A:I DON'T SEE ANY PROBLEMS FROM OUR SIDE. I THINK IT'S AN OVER-
SIMPLIFICATION TO MAKE THAT SORT OF STATEMENT FOR THE SIMPLE REASON
THAT I THINK, FOR INSTANCE, MY CASE WHY I WAS ASKED BY THE AFRICANS
TO BECOME THE COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA WAS THAT THEY KNEW I FELT
SYMPATHETIC FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLES' POLITICAL ORGANIZATION PROCESS AND
I WANTED TO DO WHAT I COULD IN THAT PROCESS. SO, IT'S MUCH MORE
GENERAL THAN SIMPLY FAVORING ONE PARTY OR ANY INDIVIDUAL. I THINK
WHAT IS AT STAKE IS THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. IF WE HAVE THE SAME

IMPARTIALITY FROM THE SIDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION THEN BASICALLY
WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO PULL THIS THING THROUGH. END AHTISAARI TEXT.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF STEYN INTERVIEW:

Q: STEYN ON AHTISAARI-STEYN RELATIONSHIP:
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STEYN: A VERY GOOD DEGREE OF COOPERATIONS AND A VERY SOUND DEGREE
OF PERSONAL UNDERSTANDING HAVE FORTUNATELY BEEN ACHIEVED BETWEEN
NOT ONLY MYSELF AND MR. AHTISAARI BUT BETWEEN MEMBERS OF MY
PERSONNEL AND THOSE OF HIS.

Q: ONCE MR. AHTISAARI HAS REPORTED BACK TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL, AND
HE IS TO DO SO SOON, WHAT HAPPENS IF THERE IS DISAGREEMENT ON THE
REPORT OF IMPLEMENTATION INsofar AS SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO ARE
CONCERNED.

A: DEPENDING UPON THE MEASURE OF DISAGREEMENT, THERE MAY BE
ACCOMMODATION, GIVE AND TAKE, AND SOME METHOD DEVISED OF
IMPLEMENTATION SATISFACTORY TO ALL, OF THE RESOLUTION EMBODYING
THE WESTERN PROPOSALS OF COURSE. DEPENDING AGAIN ON THAT SAME DEGREE
OF DIFFERENCE OF OPINION, YOU MAY FIND IT BEING SO DEP THAT ONE OR
OTHER OF THE PARTIES FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CARRY ON. IN THAT EVENT,
I FEAR THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION WILL NOT BE
POSSIBLE.

Q: IN AN INTERVIEW WHICH I HAD WITH MR. AHTISAARI, HE DESCRIBED
INFORMATION AS ONE OF THE MAIN PROBLEM AREAS, APPARENTLY HE BELIEVES
THAT THERE IS NOT ENOUGH IMPARTIALITY HERE. WHAT ARE YOUR COMMENTS ON
THIS?

A: IF HE'S REFERRING TO NEWSPAPERS, OBVIOUSLY EVERY NEWSPAPER WILL
HAVE ITS POLITICAL VIEW WHICH IT WILL ADVOCATE. UNDER THAT, I DON'T
THINK FROM THE PRESS ONE CAN EXPECT OR SHOULD DEMAND OR SHOULD DESIRE
COMPLETE IMPARTIALITY. EACH SIDE NEEDS ITS ADVOCATE, AND THE PRESS
CAN BE A VERY EFFECTIVE ONE. IF HE'S REFERRING TO THE RADIO, THEN
ONE MUST ALWAYS BEAR IN MIND TWO THINGS, FIRST OF ALL THAT THE NEW
INTERIM RADIO BOARD INSTALLED BY ME IS TO TAKE OFFICE NEXT WEEK,
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CONSISTING OF VERY PROMINENT SOUTH WESTERNERS OF UNQUESTIONED
INTEGRITY, NOT ACTIVE IN POLITICS, WHO WILL HAVE THE TASK OF
CONTROLLING THE DAILY CONTENT AND QUALITY OF THE BROADCASTS;

THE SECOND ASPECT THAT ONE MUST NEVER FORGET IN CRITICIZING OR JUDGING THE QUALITY AND IMPARTIALITY OF THE RADIO SERVICES, ESPECIALLY AS FAR AS THE NEWS AND POLITICAL COMMENTS ARE CONCERNED, THAT THE TERRITORY IS AT PRESENT, AS IT HAS BEEN FOR THE PAST FEW YEARS, IS SUBJECTED TO A VICIOUS PROPAGANDA BEAMED AT IT FROM SHORT WAVE STATIONS IN LUANDA AND LUSAKA, AND CONTAINING BY REPETITION THE MOST FREIGHTENING EXHORTATIONS TO MURDER AND VIOLENCE, IT'S IN THAT FULL CONTEXT AND AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THAT ONSLAUGHT FROM OUTSIDE THAT ONE MUST VIEW AND JUDGE THE QUANTITY AND THE QUALITY AND THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE DOMESTIC BROADCASTS.

Q: JUSTICE STEYN, MOVING ON NOW TO ANOTHER IMPORTANT ISSUE, NAMELY THE ONE OF REGISTRATION. MR. AHTISAARI SAYS THAT IF HE WERE TO BE STRICTLY LEGALISTIC, HE WOULD HAVE TO RECOMMEND THAT REGISTRATION BE DONE OVER, ALTHOUGH HE DID QUALIFY THIS SOMEWHAT. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS ?

A: IT'S A MATTER WHICH IS OF PROFOUND POLITICAL CONTENT AND CONSEQUENCE AND THE FACT THAT THERE HAS BEEN SUCH A MASSIVE REGISTRATION ACHIEVED SO PEACEFULLY, IN SUCH AN ORDERLY MANNER, IN SUCH A SHORT TIME, IS A FACTOR WHICH MUST BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED WHEN DECIDING WHETHER TO UNDO THE WHOLE PROCESS, AND WHETHER IT WILL BE TO THE BENEFIT OF THE BODY POLITIC TO WASTE TIME, WHICH HAS NOW OBVIOUSLY BECOME OF THE ESSENCE, AND TO WASTE MONEY ON DOING AND REDOING SOMETHING WHICH OBVIOUSLY THREE-QUARTERS OF THE POPULATION WERE VERY CONTENT TO DO ON THEIR OWN WITHOUT THE UN OR WESTERN PARTICIPATION.

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Q" MR. AHTISAARI TOLD ME THAT IT WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME TO CREATE THE ATMOSPHERE NECESSARY FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. DO YOU REGARD THIS AS A HINT THAT HE WILL ONLY BE CALLING FOR ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR?

A: IT SEEMS TO BE IMPLICIT IN THE WORDS THAT YOU HAVE NOW QUOTED TO ME... THIS I CAN SAY, HOWEVER, THAT IS THAT THE POLITICAL PROCESS, MEETINGS BEING HELD EVERY WEEK BY VARIOUS PARTIES, HAVE NOW BEEN IN EXISTENCE FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. AND IT IS AGAINST THAT BACKGROUND AND AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE TARGET DATE STATED IN VERY MANDATING WORDS AND TERMS IN THE PROPOSALS THEMSELVES THAT WE MUST CONSIDER THE WHOLE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER MATTERS ARE BEING RUED, IF THE ELECTION IS TO BE HELD THIS YEAR, OR WHETHER MATTERS WILL BE UNDULY DELAYED IF THE DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE STATED IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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TERMS I MENTIONED IS TO BE IGNORED, IS TO BE PUSHED ON INTO THE FUTURE, AND IF ELECTIONS ARE TO BE DELAYED UNTIL SOME TIME CLOSE TO THE MIDDLE OF NEXT YEAR. THESE ARE ASPECTS AND CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WE

WILL DEAL WITH WHEN WE MEET AGAIN.

Q: MR. JUSTICE STEYN, THE QUESTION OF A CEASEFIRE, YOU HAVE APPEALED FOR A CEASEFIRE. MR. AHTISAARI SAYS THAT THIS CANNOT BE REALIZED UNTIL AFTER THE S.C. HAS TAKEN ITS DECISIONS. HOW DO YOU FEEL?

A: BY THAT I UNDERSTAND HIM OBVIOUSLY TO MEAN CANNOT BE FORMALLY REACHED. HOWEVER, I STAND BY MY VIEW, WHICH I EXPRESSED IN MY HONEST APPEAL TO MR. SAM NUJOMA A FEW DAYS AGO IN PRETORIA, TO, AS EVIDENCE OF HIS BONAFIDES, ESTABLISH A DE FACTO CEASEFIRE NOW EVEN IF NOT FORMALLY IMPLEMENTED OR IF NOT FORMALLY RECOGNIZED AND ANNOUNCED. I FEEL THAT CONTINUED VIOLENCE AT THIS STATE, ESPECIALLY WHEN THE UN MISSION IS NOW IN THE TERRITORY INVESTIGATING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A PEACEFUL POLITICAL PROCESS, THAT AT THIS STAGE IT IS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE THAT EVERYBODY CEASE ANY VIOLENT ACTIVITY.

Q: MR. JUSTICE STEYN, AFTER HAVING HAD THE UN MEN OVER HERE FOR TWO WEEKS NOW YOU MUST HAVE A REASONABLY CLEAR IDEA OF THE MAIN PROBLEM AREAS AND ALSO THE MAIN AREAS OF HOPE. COULD YOU DEFINE THEM FOR US?

A: I THINK THAT DEFINITION NEEDS TO BE SET IN THE CONTEXT. AND ITS
CONTEXT IS THE NATURE OF THE TASK MR AHTISAARI IS INVOLVED IN AT THE
MOMENT. MAINLY,I WOULD SAY, HE IS HERE EXCLUSIVELY ON A FACT FINDING
MISSION TO APRISE HIMSELF OF THOSE FACTS WHICH IT IS NECESSARY
FOR HIM TO KNOW IN REPORTING BACK TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL AS TO
THE METHOD OF IMPLEMENTATION THAT HE ADVISES ON THE WESTERN POWER
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RESOLUTION NOW EMBODIED IN THE S.C. RESOLUTION. AREAS OF HOPE,
AREAS OF POSITIVE ACTION, IS THAT WHICH I HAVE ALREADY DESCRIBED,
NAMELY OF FULL COOPERATION AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN
ESTABLISHED BETWEEN MYSELF AND MR.AHTISAARI AND MEMBERS OF MY
PERSONNEL
AND HIS. AREAS OF FUTURE DIFFICULTY RELATING I THINK TO THE INTERPRE-
TATION OF THE PROPOSALS AND CONSEQUENTLY ALSO TO THE IMPLEMENTATION
THEREOF, ARE THOSE THAT HAVE TO DO WITH THE RETENTION OF
REGISTRATION, THE DATE OF ELECTION, AND TO WHAT EXTENT THE DATE OF
INDEPENDENCE STATED TO BE 31 OF DECEMBER 1978 MUST STILL BE THE
RETAINED AND MUST STILL BE AIMED AT.

Q: FINALLY, FR. STEYN, IT IS NO SECRET THAT THROUGH THE YEARS THE UN

HAS FAVORED SWAPO, IN FACT, AT ONE STAGE SWAPO WAS REGARDED AS THE
SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. DO YOU FEEL THAT
GIVEN THIS BIAS FAVORING SWAPO, THAT A SQUARE DEAL CAN BE GOT?

A: I CAN ONLY PROFOUNDLY HOPE SO. ONE MUST REALIZE THAT WHATEVER
MR. AHTISAARI AND I MAY FIND COMMON GROUND ON, HE HAS TO REPORT BACK
TO HIS PRINCIPAL, THAT IS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, WHO WILL HAVE
DISCRETION AS TO HOW TO FORMULATE HIS OWN SUBMISSION TO THE
SECURITY COUNCIL HAVING THEN DIGESTED THE REPORT OF HIS OWN
REPRESENTATIVE THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL AGAIN HAVE ITS OWN
DISCRETION AS TO THE CONTENTS OF HIS RESOLUTION. THESE ARE
IMPONDERABLES WHICH AS I SAY ONE CAN ONLY EXPRESS A PROFOUND HOPE
THAT THEY WILL ALL MOVE IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION. IF THEY MOVE IN
ANOTHER DIRECTION,OF COURSE THE CONSEQUENCES ARE INCALCULABLE.
BECAUSE SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN WILLING TO COOPERATE TO THE EXTENT
THAT IT HAS MUST NEVER BE UNDERSTOOD TO MY MIND TO MEAN IT IS
WILLING TO SURRENDER IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA, AND ITS WILL TO STAND BY
CERTAIN PRINCIPLES IT FEELS MUST BE RETAINED AT ALL COST, MUST
NEVER BE UNDERESTIMATED.
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